

BIOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY: Don Horio

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Don Horio was born in 1928 in Pā'ia, Maui. He attended public schools on the island and graduated from Maui High School. Horio then moved to Honolulu to attend the University of Hawai'i, where he majored in English.

In 1956, Horio began working as a reporter for the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. While covering politics for the newspaper, he became acquainted with John Burns, the territory's delegate to Congress. When Burns was elected governor of Hawai'i in 1962, Horio was asked to be his press secretary and "special assistant." Horio remained an important part of the governor's administration for the twelve years Burns served in office.

Tape No. 20-14-1-90

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW

with

Don Horio (DH)

August 3, 1990

Honolulu, O'ahu

BY: Joe Rossi (JR)

JR: This is an interview with Don Horio, conducted August 3, 1990, in his Honolulu home. The interviewer is Joe Rossi.

To begin with, Mr. Horio, could you tell me where and when you were born?

DH: I was born in Pā'ia, Maui, a plantation town, in 1928. Went to public schools on the island, finished Maui High School, and went to University of Hawai'i [UH] where I majored in English. I got my bachelor's—bachelor of arts—in English.

JR: What did your parents do on Maui?

DH: My mother was a housewife. My father—late father—was a bookkeeper and office manager for East Maui Irrigation Company, which is a subsidiary of HC&S [Hawaiian Commercial and Sugar Company]. The story about East Maui Irrigation and the tremendous tunnel project that brought water from Hāna to central Maui is very well described in the novel—I think it was called *The Water of Kane* by Professor [Oswald] Bushnell. It's a very interesting story. The so-called Old Hāmākua Ditch was a fantastic construction project. And the people who—the Baldwins [i.e., Henry Baldwin] and I forget the other gentleman [Samuel Alexander]—who envisioned growing sugarcane in central Maui were extremely visionary, bringing the water over from the wetter side of the island to the dry area.

JR: What was it like as a kid growing up on Maui at that time? What did you guys do for recreation and fun?

DH: Oh, when we were very young kids we swam in the *pūnāwai*—the pond which held the irrigation water for sugar fields—played football with a wound-up burlap bag (chuckles), played basketball in the dirt courts, and all kinds of children's games. But there was nothing fancy available for us.

JR: Did your parents encourage you to pursue any particular field or profession?

DH: No, not in particular. I don't think they ever (chuckles) thought that I'd get into the newspaper business, for one thing.

JR: Maybe you can tell me how you did get into the newspaper business.

DH: Well, after I finished the University of Hawai'i, I worked for a magazine publisher, Pacific Publishing Company. (I) edited *Hawai'i Farmer Magazine*, which became the official organ of the Hawai'i Farm Bureau Federation, and another magazine designed primarily for military consumption. As I recall, it was called *Pacific Patrol*. And the pay wasn't very good. [Nineteen] fifty-six I think it was, I applied for a job at the [Honolulu] *Star-Bulletin* and got hired, and covered all sorts of different beats, including the political beat, labor—I covered the 1958 sugar strike, which lasted 126 days, as I recollect, and then got appointed to the political beat, covered politics.

JR: Which beat did you enjoy the most?

DH: It's a toss-up between labor and politics. I asked to be removed from the political beat after 1959, primarily because I disagreed with editorial viewpoint of the newspaper and its treatment of [congressional] delegate [John] Burns when he ran for governor in 1959 in the special election. The owners, of course, had the prerogative to express their editorial viewpoint. And if I disagreed, I felt that the more honorable course [would be] to ask to be removed, although I was still asked from time to time to write political stories, primarily because the editors were aware of the fact that I did have a number of good contacts within the—among the Democrats, who, as you know, controlled the legislature, with the exception of the first special election [1959], when the senate had a Republican majority when [William] "Doc" Hill was president. But all that changed again in 1962, when the Democrats won both the house and the senate and the governorship.

JR: How was the newspaper treating Burns in '59, for those who don't—aren't familiar with that?

DH: Well, you know the paper was Republican, it was owned by the Farringtons. When Burns ran in '59 in the special election, there was a wire story—I think United Press International, UPI, filed it out of San Francisco—and the story indicated that there was a possible union of the ILWU [International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union] and the Teamsters, and pointed out that were this to come about, those two unions would form a transportation combine that could control the country, true or not. Anyway, as a result of that story being filed, the managing editor asked me to ask Delegate Burns what his view was. It was widely known that the delegate was supported by the ILWU and that he had a close association with them. As a matter of fact, he was criticized for not coming home immediately after the passage of the statehood bill, choosing instead to honor a commitment to address the biannual convention of the ILWU in Seattle.

Anyway, I went to delegate Burns and did as the managing editor asked me. I asked Burns what his view was on this so-called possible transport combine of the

ILWU and the Teamsters, and his response was, "What does that have to do with the election? That's not an issue in this election." And he declined to answer, even though I encouraged him to say something to be sure that he would be properly—his view would be properly represented in the article. As I say, he declined, stating that it was a non-issue in terms of the election. The newspaper published the story, and also added the fact that Burns declined to comment. But the impact of the story was negative in the sense that above the headline they imposed what we call head shots or mug shots of the following people—the delegate, Harry Bridges [president of the ILWU], and Jimmy Hoffa [president of the Teamsters]. The implications were quite evident.

JR: At this time, you identified yourself with the Democrats. Were you a member of the party or was . . .

DH: No, I was not a member because I was covering politics, but of course, having been born and reared on the plantation, my natural sympathies were with the party that, to me, most—better represented the working class. I was an officer of the Hawaii Newspaper Guild—treasurer, member of the board of directors, and on the negotiating committee.

JR: When did you first encounter John Burns?

DH: My memory—if memory serves me right, it was during the election campaign of 1956. During those days television was in its infancy, and the [Democratic] party, at that time, sponsored rallies throughout the state. And I was on what we call night side, the evening shift. And the rallies were generally held in the evenings. And I was assigned to cover the rallies, all over the rural areas and in town as well. And my recollection is I met delegate Burns at a Washington Intermediate [School] rally, and he somewhat impressed me. While I was talking to him, a young kid came up to him to shake his hand, and the delegate took the time to give him one of his cards. The youngster looked at it, and I guess he must have been somewhat uncertain as to what the initials stood for after his name—the initials were M.C.—and so he took the time to explain to the boy that it stood for member of Congress.

And after the election, after he had lost to [William] Quinn—he was still delegate, of course—he was asked. . . . No, I was asked—that's right—by the assistant managing editor to ask the delegate for assistance in getting a visa clearance for a Canadian individual that the *Star-Bulletin* wanted to hire. The gentleman [is now] retired, but he still remembers that the delegate helped him, and subsequently became naturalized years later. In any case, it was somewhat embarrassing for me to have to make such an appeal to the delegate after the position the *Bulletin* had taken in his election. I caught him—I knew where he'd be in the morning, generally having coffee at the Young Hotel restaurant, so I went to see him there. And I said, "Look, Delegate Burns, this may or may not be a sensitive request, but I've been asked whether you might help get a visa clearance for this gentleman." I gave him the name and all that—he's from Vancouver—and explained that the *Bulletin* wanted to hire him as a copy editor.

And he says, his answer was, "Certainly. After all, I'm still delegate for all of the people," his enemies included. (JR chuckles.) And he expedited the visa.

JR: How did he come to ask you to be his press secretary in 1962?

DH: Well first, [Matsuo] "Matsy" Takabuki was a close friend of the governor, as you might know. I think he was designated to interview various people for different appointments. And Matsy asked to see me, so I went to see him. And I told him I, at that time, was also considering a possible appointment with the Peace Corps in Washington. One of the professors at the university had recommended my name to the [John F.] Kennedy administration. And I told Matsy, "You know, I'm flattered that the governor would even think of considering me as press secretary." And I recommended another gentleman who was my then city editor, John Ramsey, because I had a high regard for Ramsey and his abilities.

But then nothing happened for a while, and then one evening, got a call and it was the (governor-elect). And the way he broached it to me was, "Well, you want to write your own press release?"

And I asked him, "When do you want me to start?"

He says, "Right away, because I got things I got to crank out," [for example, announcement of] the nominees that he was considering for the various cabinet positions.

So the next morning, I informed [A.A. "Bud"] Smyser [managing editor of the *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*] that I was offered the job and accepted it, and I would be taking it on immediately. Bud's response was, "Well, I was somewhat afraid of that." (Chuckles) So, then I went to work for Jack Burns.

JR: Why do you think he wanted you, in particular, to be his press secretary?

DH: I don't know. Perhaps one of his motives might have been to give local people an opportunity to demonstrate such skills and abilities as they may have, not that I had that much but. . . . That was his style, you know. And I got to become very fond of him.

JR: Were you particularly close to him before this time? I mean, had you an ongoing relationship . . .

DH: Well, yeah. During the period between the loss of his election in '59 and his election in '62—after I had asked to be taken off the political beat—he and I would get together occasionally to play golf. He'd invite me to his club, Mid-Pacific [Country Club]. Sometimes we'd play at the Pali Golf Course. So I had an ongoing informal relationship with him.

JR: What were your duties as press secretary?

DH: Sort of all around. You know, the one thing about the governor, he hated the term press secretary or news secretary. Well, I shouldn't say hated it. He didn't want to pigeonhole any given person in a single area of responsibility. As a matter of fact, he referred to all of his staff, secretaries included, as "all my special assistants." He preferred that term, special assistant. And when he introduced me to other people, say at governor conferences and such, he would say, "This is my special assistant, although he's considered the news secretary or press secretary. But I look upon him and all others on my staff as special assistants."

And so in addition to handling his news releases and arranging for news conferences, I also did the final edit on all his speeches, remarks on the correspondence, especially sensitive correspondence. The point being that there should be one person who is familiar with the governor's philosophy and policies to ensure that whatever was put in print, in response to any kind of query, would be consistent with his thinking, his views. And so it covered a whole, wide range of responsibilities, including certain special ones, such as the continuing relationship with organized labor, for one thing. And I also travelled with him to Western Governors Conferences and National Governors Conferences, until '69, when I told him, in anticipation of the 1970 campaign, that I wouldn't be able to do much travelling because I would be concentrating on helping to put together his re-election campaign.

JR: How would you describe Governor Burns' philosophy?

DH: Perhaps the best way to characterize it would be to say that fiscally he was conservative. He was as tight with the public money as it could be, largely because he felt that public money should be well spent. On the other hand, he was unafraid to break new ground and to channel state revenues in what might be called more liberal endeavors, primarily education. If you recollect, in his first inaugural speech one of the points he made was that when it comes to the child versus money, the child comes first. And it wasn't easy to get these things done, largely because when he first came into office the state faced a fairly hefty deficit. There had been an underestimate of revenues as against the budget that had been passed prior to his coming in to office. And among the first things he had to do was tighten the belt, so to speak, and restrict funds to all departments. But once that had been done and, working with the legislature, better revenue-producing measures had been adopted, he was extremely liberal in initiating and supporting programs that would, for one thing, expand education. As you know, the public school system and the University of Hawai'i were—got its biggest boost during that period. A lot of new things were started, including the matter that you're particularly interested in, the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts [SFCA].

JR: What do you think the governor's goals were for the state?

DH: Equal opportunity, the best education possible for the children of Hawai'i, upward mobility for anybody who was willing to work for it, cracking barriers that were existing for many years. If you remember, among the things that later became public—it wasn't immediate, although the letter was sent prior to his

inauguration—he declined the invitation to become a member of the Pacific Club. And it was a very finely worded letter—dictated by himself, incidentally—that the essence of which was that, while he respected and would enjoy the company of the members of the Pacific Club, he could not bring himself about to become a member so long as the club had an unwritten policy to exclude Orientals. He acknowledged that this was a right of the club, but it went against his grain, certainly, and as a consequence he declined it. The letter became public some years later and was quite a story.

JR: You had just alluded to the matter that I'm very interested in, the State Foundation on Culture and the Arts.

DH: Yes.

JR: How did that come about?

DH: Well, I don't know whether it was actually Fred Preis or Pundy [i.e., Masaru Yokouchi] or whoever, but I think you told me [in a previous conversation] that Fred read about this national endowment program that was for the arts, that was being thought about by the [Lyndon B.] Johnson administration. Perhaps the seed was planted there. And once it was broached to him [i.e., Burns]—and I don't know exactly how it was—he was all for it, and supported it, and got the support of the legislature in getting the authorization for the foundation, statutorily, and getting the necessary appropriation to get it off the ground.

Fred Preis was the first executive director, as you know. He did quite a job of launching the program. Pundy Yokouchi was the first chairman. Pundy had his own natural appreciation of the arts. I suppose some of it cultivated through his friendship with Tadashi Sato. And the way he became—or was informed that he would be chairman was kind of interesting. We were still at Tolani Palace in those days. After the bill passed, the governor had the job of naming the members of the board. One day Pundy came up to the governor's office. Mary Isa, his secretary, was with him at the time. As Pundy walked in, the governor turned to Mary and said, "Well, here comes the new chairman."

Pundy didn't know what was going on. He said, "What are you talking about?" And Mary laughed because she knew what it was about.

And the governor says, "Well, you're the one that's always been poking me about doing something for the arts, now here's your turn. You're going to be chairman of the foundation." (Chuckles)

JR: Was that his style, to just sort of spring these appointments on people? (Chuckles)

DH: In some cases, yeah, you know. He had, I don't know, some tremendous insight and acuity of vision to find the right person for various tasks. And to get that done, it wasn't important to him where the person came from within our society, what his or her political inclinations may be. He was given to the concept that if there was a

task to be done, he would try to get the best person possible to be responsible for it, and let him or her go ahead and do it. He would have been the first to admit that he's not all-seeing, all-knowing, and therefore he has to rely on others.

JR: In the early part of his tenure, he appointed Alfred Preis to be a planning coordinator, even though Preis was a fairly outspoken critic of planning policy. Do you remember anything about that relationship?

DH: Not very much. I vaguely remember writing a [press] release about Fred's appointment. And I was aware of his reputation as an architect. I thought he was a fine appointment. Excuse me a minute.

(Taping stops, then resumes.)

JR: The state foundation was created by that Act 269 in '65. Did you folks, or the governor, have any expectations really, or was he simply following the suggestions of others, such as Preis and so forth?

DH: Well, the purpose of the foundation fit in very neatly with the governor's views on the role of government in shaping the lives of Hawai'i's people. Although he himself did not have much formal tutoring, having attended the University of Hawai'i only for about one semester before he had to quit in order to support the family, he always believed that any individual should be as well rounded as possible and that, while we may be isolated in the Pacific and regarded by some as being less sophisticated perhaps than people from the Mainland—he didn't believe that. And he believed further that the people deserved an opportunity to be exposed to the fine arts as well—performing arts, fine arts, everything. And so the executive of the foundation was very much a part of his overall view of the kind of administration that he felt that the state should have.

JR: You mentioned just how fiscally conservative he was as a governor, but for cases like this, he'd make exceptions?

DH: Well, anything that had to do with education and giving people the opportunity to be more knowledgeable about the whole of civilization, he felt, was worthy of support. And if revenues were available, he would opt for such programs, even though it may have been at the expense of other things. And of course, once he made a decision and accepted legislative policy, whoever he appointed had pretty much free rein to run it, because he counted on the person to use his or her best abilities to meet the objectives of the law. And that's why he appointed Pundy, who was his man on Maui, as you know.

JR: What do you know about their relationship?

DH: Very close, they were very close. Governor was very fond of him. As a matter of fact, that may be one of the reasons why he turned to Pundy, as I recollect. I think I was with him on Maui at the time when we went to Pundy's house. See, whenever the governor travelled inter-island, in the evenings he would try to get

together with his people, so to speak. And Pundy was his man on Maui, and Pundy would gather some other people who helped support the governor. The governor enjoyed that type of relationship. And one time, I recollect, Pundy had a Tadashi Sato work at his house, and then when [Governor Burns] looked at it and pondered over it—wasn't too sure he understood it. And Pundy, I think, tried to explain it to him and tried also to explain to him his view, that everybody should have the opportunity to be exposed to works of art. And that, I'm sure, helped motivate the governor to support the bill.

JR: Were you aware of any activities the governor went to, such as theater or the symphony, or collecting art works in his home, or anything like that?

DH: No, he wasn't a collector. I do know that there's a beautiful piece by Tadashi hanging in the Kailua home. It was given to the governor, either through Pundy or whatever, after that new home was built in Kailua. I don't think he attended the symphonies regularly, if at all. His interest was primarily history. He was quite a historian in his own way, was very knowledgeable about the federal Constitution, for one thing, having read about it, read the books on it.

And subsequent to the establishment of the foundation, a year or two later, the administration introduced the 1 percent bill [i.e., Art in State Buildings, later renamed Art in Public Places], which set aside 1 percent of capital improvement projects for various buildings for works of art. And the bill had no problem being passed in the senate, but it was somewhat stuck in the house. And towards the dying days of that particular [legislative] session, I received a call from a very good friend who was chief counsel to the chairman of the house finance committee, who asked me whether we wanted the bill passed. He said, "I have it in my drawer here."

So, "Of course the governor wants it, it's his bill. Is there a problem?" And he explained that there was, in the sense that the way it was passed by the senate, the director of the state foundation was designated as the person who would decide what kind of work of art would be purchased with the 1 percent designated for each building. And the feeling was that it would be more appropriate to have the comptroller—the head of DAGS [Department of Accounting and General Services]—be so designated.

I didn't think that it mattered one way or the other, and so I checked with the governor and asked him what his druthers were. He said, "It doesn't matter, because in the end, if there's a problem, I'll be the one to decide it." (Chuckles)

So, I got back to the counsel for the finance committee and said, "Go ahead and change it, amend it to the comptroller, if that's what the house members want. And if the senate will buy it, fine." So, that's how it got passed. (Chuckles)

JR: During his tenure, did the governor pretty much get whatever he wanted?

DH: Yeah, with the legislature. . . . Never had too much trouble. He had his own style.

When we were at Tolani Palace reporters found it more productive, rather than trying to visit him in the chambers and formally asking him questions, to wait until later in the afternoon—during the session days—when they'd find him generally seated on the back, the stairs that face the new capitol. And he'd be chatting with the members of the house or senate. They'd just be sitting there, chatting. So the reporters found it a convenient way to also talk to him and find out what he was trying to get at or trying to do.

And the governor was very successful with the legislature to a large extent because having been a delegate, he recognized the difference between the executive and legislative branches. He was fond of using the term "the executive proposes, the legislature disposes." He recognized the fact that the legislature sets public policy, and it's the chief executive's job to execute and administer it. And whether it was or was not his original proposal, he would always prefer to give credit to the legislature for getting a certain thing done. He was adamant about that, many times. So, many things that were really his original ideas, or thoughts that were generated through discussions with the cabinet or others, ultimately he would give credit to the legislature.

So there were not many occasions that there were conflicts between the administration and the legislature. And if there were, he would quietly go about trying to correct the situation in his own way. There were many occasions that, even at the new capitol, he'd just walk out of his office, go down to the fourth floor, the third floor, or the second floor, and just meander about, walk into a member's office and chit chat. He always had a purpose when he did that. He probably get wind of the fact that maybe a given member was somewhat reluctant to go along with a proposal, and he'd sort of informally get to that person and lead the discussion around.

END OF SIDE ONE

SIDE TWO

JR: During its first few years of existence [1965–1970], the state foundation was under the governor's office.

DH: Mm hmm.

JR: What was the nature of that setup?

DH: Well, you know, by law the constitution limits the number of departments to twenty, right? And when he first got in office, one of the proposals he made was to merge what had been the Planning Department and the Department of Economic Development, and so it became DPED [Department of Planning and Economic Development]. So he got that passed. And, as you know, a lot of the so-called regulatory boards and commissions that were somewhat autonomous prior to

statehood were put under the umbrella of the Department of Regulatory Agencies, then so-called. That was a way of conforming with the constitution. Certain functions were placed under the governor's office for administrative purposes, the state foundation being one of them. The original Office of Environmental Quality Control was placed administratively under the governor. Now it's under health department. But to get these things launched properly, they were placed under the governor's office. And it helped in the sense that it gave that particular agency the clout that comes with the governor's office. I don't know when the law was changed so that—where's the state foundation now, under B and F [Department of Budget and Finance]?

JR: I think it's under DAGS [Department of Accounting and General Services] now.

DH: DAGS?

JR: Yeah. (Pause) I wanted to ask you about something. I'm not sure if there was any connection whatsoever, other than the name, but in 1966, right after its formation, the SFCA put together a Governor's Conference on Culture and the Arts. Did the governor have anything to do with that, or were they just using his name?

DH: I don't know whether it was his thought. I'm sure he and Pundy discussed it. Pundy might have broached it to him, but certainly it had his support, otherwise it wouldn't have been called, and it wouldn't have had, that name. It was not just that, he also had a Governor's Conference on the Environment in '68, I think it was. And he also did the first one on telecommunications. All of these things that were looked upon as somewhat visionary he was very much for, recognizing that down the pike, the influence of these agencies and their activities would impinge upon every citizen, somehow or other, beneficially.

JR: When I was speaking to you prior to the interview, you mentioned that *Maybe Blue* painting. There was a lot of controversy about the state having bought what some considered to be an inferior piece of artwork. You had some thoughts on that.

DH: Yeah. I'm not necessarily a fan of *Maybe Blue*—I've seen it—but I think it had a value in the sense that the purchase of the particular work and the publicity attendant to it as a consequence of the controversial views on its relative value as a work of art called more public attention to the foundation and made the public more conscious of the state's involvement in art. As I recollect, it was done by a university professor.

JR: [James] Rosen.

DH: So whatever the foundation paid for it—I don't think it was too much [\$600] (chuckles)—it redounded to the work of the foundation, in an invaluable sense. You couldn't buy that kind of publicity.

JR: As the governor's press secretary, would agencies like the SFCA ever come to you to help them get publicity or inform the public about what they were doing?

- DH: No, they were pretty independent, and they had their own mechanism for gaining such publicity as was deemed necessary or appropriate. I think Fred did a pretty good job on his own.
- JR: How would you describe their relationship, the governor's and Fred Preis', over the years?
- DH: I think they had a mutual respect for each other. As I said, the governor didn't pretend to be an art critic or really savvy about art, and so he left it to the foundation and its members to determine what pieces of work they should purchase and expose, what kind of other activities that they should go into. That was his style.
- JR: With the 1 percent law and some other things, the foundation led the nation in the arts. Do you think the Hawai'i community and even the governor were aware of the role Hawai'i was playing in the national scene at that time?
- DH: I think the governor was aware of it, because, as you know, he was quite close to Lyndon Johnson, and he, I'm sure, spoke to either the president directly or to his advisors about the pioneering work that the state was doing through its foundation and how the foundation's activities tied in very closely with the National Endowment for the Arts. On the occasions when he had opportunity to introduce Pundy to visitors or important representatives from other areas, he took the occasion to point out that Pundy was the chairman of this particular foundation and how the foundation was at the cutting edge, so to speak, in—among all the states.
- JR: What about the rest of the folks back here? Do you think they had an awareness of what the foundation was up to?
- DH: I don't know how much general public awareness there was. Perhaps the travelling Artmobile and stuff like that helped. But by and large, I would suspect those with the more personal interest in art were more aware. But I'm sure it—the foundation's work—spawned a lot of other things. You might get a better perception of its impact from others.
- JR: Well, just coming into your home, I noticed that—you mentioned your son had some ceramic works [displayed throughout the home]. When you were growing up—you mentioned swimming and these other things—was art ever a part of what you did in school, or after school, or anything like that?
- DH: Nothing like it is today, yeah. In grade school, from first grade on, you know, they expose you to some music, rhymes, and stuff like that, but nothing really at the level that you have today. I used to listen to the radio. My dad had a long aerial hooked up so that we could pick up San Francisco station KNX to listen to the news. And Sunday mornings I used to listen to it, to the NBC [National Broadcasting Company] symphony. And I'd [be] hunched over, listening to it, because, I don't know, somehow I had a fondness for orchestral music. That's how I

learned the Beethoven symphonies, Brahms, Bach. (Chuckles) Not that I'm any kind of expert on it, but I enjoy listening to it.

JR: Well, you majored in English at the UH. Did you have another interest in literature as well as music?

DH: Yeah, right. English primarily is a—the curriculum is largely literature at the University of Hawai'i, although there were several writing classes. I took play writing and advanced composition, creative writing, and stuff like that. But the curriculum was not what it is today. I think there are a lot more offerings today, and certainly a bigger staff.

JR: What about ethnic arts when you were growing up, like different cultural practices and, you know, community-sponsored things that maybe aren't considered art in the sense of opera and theater, but I think today are recognized as art?

DH: It wasn't organized in the sense that you would look upon it as an ethnic thing, you know what I mean? For instance, the different provinces of Japan that were represented in the plantation communities—Kumamoto, Yamaguchi-ken, Hiroshima-ken, etcetera—had their summer picnics separately. And there'd be sumo, races, and things like that. And it was a way to, I guess, continue the provincial tie that was traditional in Japan. In the same way, all these various Chinese societies exist for that reason, you know, the Wong Society, Ching Society, etcetera. But I don't recollect anything formal. You just get exposed to everything—you know, Hawaiian stuff, Filipino stuff, Chinese—without perhaps even being aware that you're getting such exposure. It just becomes a natural part of your life.

JR: I don't have any more questions for you Mr. Horio. I don't know if you have anything to add.

DH: No, no.

JR: Well, I thank you very much.

DH: You're quite welcome.

END OF INTERVIEW

**The State Foundation
on Culture and the Arts**

An Oral History

**Center for Oral History
Social Science Research Institute
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa**

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